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243 462 [482] Wives accompany their husbands to the fields. They spend the day there spinning, sewing, grilling ears of corn, or roasting manioc. In the evening, if they return to the village, the wife comes back bent under the weight of her añapoka, or carrying-net, full of ears of corn. Sometimes the men help [492] them. Those who have donkeys and horses use them as beasts of burden.

482 Transport of corn is done generally with the help of the carrying-net, but makeshifts let them do without it in case of necessity. The ears of corn are held together in bundles by means of leaves which encompass them and are suspended from a flexible switch bent in the shape of a figure eight. When the two loops are balanced, one can raise them by grasping them by the middle.

251 In the village the ears are either stored in granaries on piles, to which steps cut in a tree trunk (Fig. 9) lead, or kept in the hut where a special corner has been made into a compartment. A tree trunk tipped with a natural fork may serve /Plate VII appears here/ /343/ as a storage place for corn. The ears, tied into bundles, are piled between the two branches of the fork (Fig. 10).

243 789 Formerly, before their dreadful decline began, the Chiriguano had recourse to magical ceremonies to hasten the ripening of corn and to avoid drought or too great an abundance of rain. /Fig. 9 appears here./

When the sun threatened to burn the harvest, they had one or several medicine men come who were charged with bringing the recalcitrant clouds. Provided with a cigar, they went around the fields blowing the smoke in every direction (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 167). The symbolism of this rite of homeopathic magic is clear: the smoke represents the clouds which the ipaye is to gather.

[526] [178] The game of mbotó represents the survival of a magical ceremony having to do with the growth of corn and its maturing.

[Text Continues on P. 78]

/34./

526 178 243 789 In the Chiriguano missions or in the villages of the Caipipendí valley one finds on the large village plaza /Fig. 10 appears here/ an abundance of onion-like objects made of leaves of corn folded together (Fig. 11). Children throw them to each other with the flat of the hand and try to catch them again before they fall to the ground. A hurried traveler would see in this

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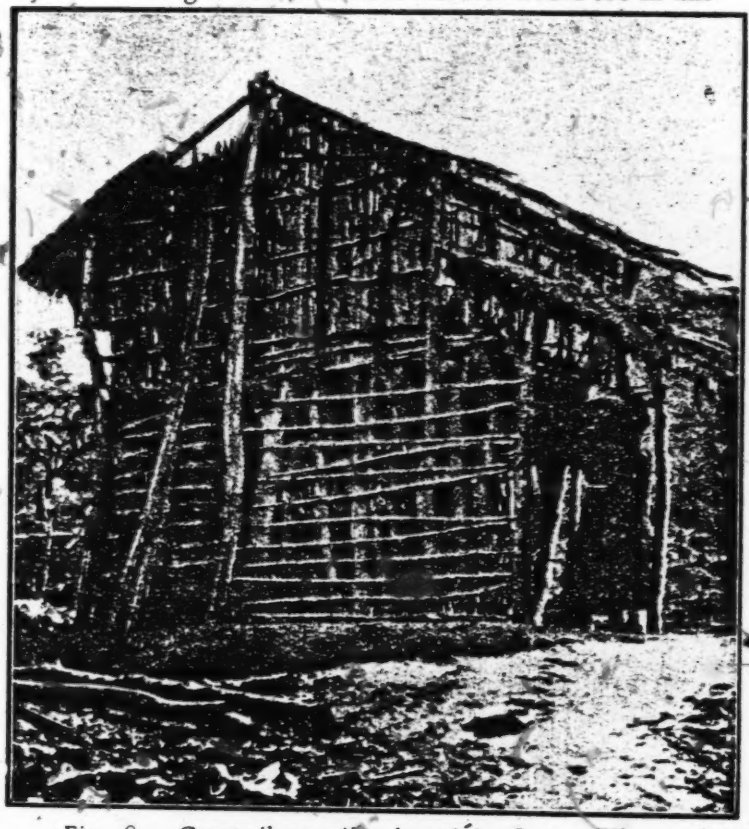

Fig. 9. Corncrib on piles (avatió). Ivu. (Photo. A.M.)

526 178 243 789 game only an Indian form of our court tennis or a rudimentary tennis. Actually, this is certainly the present significance of this amusement. In olden days the meaning was not the same, as I learned in the Macharetí mission. Only a few years ago mbotó was played only at the time when the corn was beginning to ripen. The children formed a circle and threw this kind of shuttlecock to one another. If by chance one of them let it fall through inadvertance or awkwardness, he left the place

/344 cont./
526 immediately, chased by his comrades who pulled his hair
178 energetically. The awkward player who threw the ball in such
243 a way that his partner could not catch it was in the same
789 category as the one who let it fall, on condition, however, that his opposite number had not made the gesture of catching it. Once the corn was ripe, they stopped playing mboto.

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824 Fig. 10. Forked tree on which the Chiriguano pile corn inside their huts. This device may have given rise to the corncribs on piles.

The game of mboto has a wide distribution in South America, but it is limited to the populations of the Amazonian basin and the Guianas. Doubtless the Chiriguano introduced it into the Chaco (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 168).

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243 This game without any doubt derives from a magical rite whose object was to promote the beneficial course of the sun and to oblige it to shine without interruption to make the corn ripen. The straw shuttlecock represents the sun. The period when this game is played and the meaning the Chiriguano attach to it make my hypothesis a very likely one. Preuss demonstrated that in all of Central America and even in North America the /345/ tennis game arose out of a magical operation intended to influence the sun.

Fig. 11. Straw shuttlecock (mboto), accessory for the game of the same name. Prov.: Carurutí. (1/3 nat. size.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8



plicated affair: the grains are crushed in the mortars, and chewed flour is added to the meal, which is thoroughly boiled for many hours in large jars. The *Chané* of the Parapetí River make a fermented beverage of sweet potatoes.

**Gambling.**—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* are acquainted with the suka game of the Chaco Indians, which undoubtedly has an Andean origin.[9] Another favorite dice game is called chukareta: a bunch of sticks with one face concave and the other convex are thrown to the ground, after one of the partners has chosen one of the sides. If, e.g., the thrower has decided on convex, all the sticks with the convex side up go to him. The one wins who gets most sticks (Nordenskiöld, 1920, p. 99).

European dice games are also known. The dice are of bone or clay and have special markings. Many *Chiriguano* ruin themselves at the famous taba game of the Mestizos. It is played with an ox astragalus, which is thrown in turn by the gamblers, who bet on which side the bone will fall.

**Games.**—Young boys acquire marksmanship by shooting at a rolling wheel. Boys also play hockey, as do their neighbors of the Chaco. They also hurl darts made of a stick and a corn husk. A popular game among children consists in casting a stick so that it rebounds. The one who throws it farthest scores a point, and the first to score eight points in succession wins (Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 197).

They also throw at each other a shuttlecock made of maize leaves and strive to keep it in the air as long as possible.

Formerly, the *Chané* of the Parapetí River, like so many Guiana tribes, played a ball game with rubber balls which they butted with their heads. They seem to have used two kinds of rubber balls, black solid ones and white hollow ones which they obtained from the region of Santa Cruz or from the Province of Chiquitos.

*Chiriguano* women had a game (itarapoa) in which they threw a stone ball or a hollow clay ball filled with pellets at rows of maize grains placed by twos, one above the other.

Small children whirled tops made of a calabash or played with wax or rag dolls.

### RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

During 200 years of close contact with missionaries, many Christian concepts have crept into *Chiriguano* religion. Tunpa, or Iandapoha ("Our Creator"), is commonly held to be the "real god." Aguaratunpa, the Fox God, is a mythological trickster with some features of a culture hero. He was regarded by many missionaries as the functioning god of the *Chiriguano*. There is some evidence of a solar cult, just as there is among the *Guaraní*. Aboriginally, the *Chiriguano* were mainly concerned with "iya," nature spirits, and with "ana," the souls of the dead.

[9] The dice are made of four pieces of wood, flat on one side and convex on the other. The rules of the game are described in the chapter about Chaco games (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 337).

/220 cont./

857 868 The boys have different ways of learning how to be accurate in shooting arrows and to be good hunters and brave warriors. In the field or in the woods they amuse themselves usefully, ambushing and taking as a target little birds and even grasshoppers when there are any, and when they go back home they give proof of their manliness by sticking the arrow into the mortar in which their mother customarily grinds maize.

857 868 526 [411] [824] When the boys gather together in the town, they learn the use of the arrow, shooting it at a wooden wheel which one of them makes roll as fast as he can. This wheel is made of a type of round cactus which grows a cuarta or a little more and is called Zipepe. The boys, armed with arrows, line up, and the best one will succeed in driving his into the soft material of the zipepe. /221/ The zipepe is at the same time a school for target shooting and a game; of the latter they have 524 others which I shall name in passing. They have the Pinono, top. This is different from that of the towns of the Republic. It is a small gourd with a hole in the middle in the upper part. When they spin it, the air produces a prolonged sound like that of little calves who are lowing very gently, and from this comes its name, Pinono.

Another game for young and old is pelota, which has a definite season. This is when there is fresh maize, or the cold is beginning to be felt. They call it Topo, and it is done with the husk of fresh maize; thus, when the fresh maize season ends, the game of pelota also ends, and they amuse themselves with many other games that they have (1).

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1. These will not be listed because this is not the subject of this chapter, and in addition it would be very tiring for the reader.

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those of certain peoples who, without going further, are close to those who know nothing about civilization, whose morals, compared with those of these unfortunates, are far lower because of their refinement (2).

2. Some moderns would have civilization consist of purely material education without attending to the yearnings of the heart; for them it is all the same whether man dresses or goes naked.

527 In the course of this chapter my readers will learn that I can be little mistaken in what I stated above, and they will also learn that even the Chiriguano have fiestas, which they call Arete, which /256/ are celebrated neither for saints, emperors, nor kings, nor are they celebrated in a disorderly fashion, nor do they allow themselves to be disemboweled by a bull, as sometimes happens to mestizos or Spaniards; much less are they celebrated for open abandonment to luxury; they are celebrated only in order to drink and stuff oneself, and to enjoy the fruit of the labor involved in the planting of the maize, to have a few days of general rejoicing, to drink, in sum, like good brothers (1).

[526]

1. In the general drinking a certain immorality in their words is to be lamented, and they sometimes test their strength and valor with pugilism.

Before the Fiesta

241 231 177 Before the white race entered the region, cattle were almost unknown and the few that the Indians had were tame, nor had they taken to their hearts the desire for maize as they do now; thus the Chiriguano easily did his planting and weeding in less than a month, leaving the rest to God, but I speak badly, to the good sorcerer, the sun, and the rain. Today if he does not put a fence around his planting, the cattle of the Christians and the Indians very soon reach the crop, and a little carelessness is

Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8



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left, no náma is put out and the players decide if the convex or flat (concave) side is to count.

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Other games of chance that are common here have most likely been borrowed from the Whites. »Taba», the well known national game of the Gauchos, is played, the astragalus of a cow being thrown, and it depends on which side of the bone turns up whether you win or lose.

The European game of dice goes by the name of »daro», here from the Spanish »dado». The Chiriguano and Chané have dice of their own make. They are made of bone or burnt clay. In Tihüipa I wrote down the rules of this

Fig. 31. Rules for the game of »daro». Chiriguano. Tihüipa.

game shown in Fig. 31. All other combinations are = 0. The first to get ten marks, has won. The marks are made on the ground. It is plain that these dice are an imitation of European dice. Those at the top of the illustration correspond to our one, the next to our five; then comes two, then six, then three and next four. They seem to have made their own rules for this game or else they are a re-hash of those of the Whites. There is no doubt that card playing has come from the Whites. The cards they use are bought in stores.

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Of the games of skill occurring here I have in the first part of this book described in detail a bat and ball game (map 28) and a game with maize leaf balls (map 29).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8



The bat and ball game »táca» (a kind of hockey), is played by the Chiriguano boys. I have not seen this game among the Chané. We also saw in Part I that the game is played by many tribes in the Chaco and by the Araucanians. Besides playing with long, bent sticks the Chiriguano also play with a kind of racket The balls are always of wood. I have not seen rackets elsewhere. In part I we saw that the game with maize leaf balls is especially met with in the northeastern part of S. America.

We find a most interesting ball game among the Chané which is not known by the Choroti and Ashluslay. It is played with india-rubber balls (Map 9). All the way from the Chané in El Gran Chaco to the West Indies and Mexico the game is characterized by the players not being allowed to touch the ball with their hands but having to catch and butt it with their heads, shoulders, hips or feet. In the Journal of the Royal Danish Geographical Society I have given an account of the distribution in South America of games with india-rubber balls. I here repeat in part what I wrote there, as the Danish language is not likely to be known any better than the Swedish. I can also add something to what I wrote there.

As the conformity of the rules of the game all the way from Mexico to the Chané is of the greatest anthropogeographical interest, I reproduce many of them here word for word as given by several authors. The game is mentioned from the Chané in Litterae Annuae of 1605. The author of this description says of these Indians that they played at ball using their heads instead of bats, and that they were quite as clever as the Spaniards were with their hands and bats.[1])

This game »tóki» is still played by the Chané at Rio Parapiti, where I have seen boys playing at ball with their heads.

[1]) Page 409. »Indos videlicet huius Prouinciae, pilae ludo capitibus tabellarum loco, tanta dexteritate exerceri, quanta Hispani, manibus, atque tabellis.»

StNordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chane SF8



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heads. The game is mentioned in one of the Chané-Indian tales, published in my book »Indianlif». From this tale we see how difficult it used to be for the Chané to get india-rubber for their balls. It had to be fetched from the north, as there are no rubber-yielding trees at Rio Parapiti.

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»Aguaratunpa» (the Fox[1])-demon) had captured »U'rutti», the white Condor, who offers everything imaginable to get back his liberty.

»I will fill a house with bowls of silver »Cagua» and give it you, if you will release me,» says the white Condor.

»I have all the silver I want», Aguaratunpa answers, »and I capture you in order to kill you. But if you can get me the white india-rubber ball »toki» to play with, I will release you», says Aguaratunpa.

U'rurutti now flies and fetches the white india-rubber ball. Then Aguaratunpa and the others play the game, catching and butting the ball with their heads. The white Condor, however, catches the ball and flies off with it and so Aguaratunpa sends another bird »Tavatan» to fetch the black india-rubber ball.[2])

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The game is mentioned from the Itatines east of Sta. Cruz de la Sierra in Litterae Annuae of 1589. The ball was made of the resin from a certain kind of tree and yet it was so light that it bounced at the slightest touch more easily than any leather ball. They did not, however, strike this ball with their hands or feet, but with their heads and, if need were, with their elbows, giving and taking it with the utmost skill. The winner was awarded a great prize.[3])

[1]) Nordenskiöld. (8) P. 244.

[2]) The two india-rubber balls from the Cavina-Indians in the Gothenburg museum are of a greyish-yellow; the one from the Huari-Indians is a blackish-brown.

[3]) Page 434. »Pila est e cuiusdam resina arboris compacta, leuis tamen, et quæ minimo pulsu magis resiliat, quam folliculus quicunque: eam porro non manu impellunt, aut pede, sed capite, et, si forte, cubito, mira dantium accipientiumque dexteritate: et est magnum victori præmium.»

&:Nordenskiöld E-S (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SP10 Chiriguano SP10 ●
Chane SP8
South American Indians 53
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Map. 9. The distribution of games with india-rubber balls.

● = players not being allowed to touch the ball with their hands, but having to catch and butt it with their heads, shoulders, hips or feet. ○ = rules of the game unknown.

1 = Chiriguano; 5 = Chané; 20 = Paressi-Kabisi; 23 = Churápa; 25 = Mojo; 28 = Ameth; 40 = Itatines (Guarayú); 47 = Indians, British Guiana; 58 = Cayina; 64 = Huari; 88 = Otomaco; 94 = Chiquitos; 3M = Indians, Haiti; 4M = Indians, Yucatan; 9S Maynas.

Nordenskiöld E-6 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
Ch.Zia.10 SF9



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526 I have not seen the Chiriguano play this game. I have, however, heard that they used to play it and called the game »bondi». The ball, which was of solid india-rubber, might not be touched with the hands but had to be caught and struck with the head. It might not touch the ground.

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526 Both earlier and later authors mention games with india-rubber balls among the Chiquito Indians in south Bolivia.[1] These Indians hit the ball with their heads. At Rio Guaporé I saw rubber-workers, who spoke Chiquito, playing this game. They were very clever at striking the ball with their heads. Even low balls that only just cleared the ground, were caught in the same way, the players throwing themselves on their faces. They danced while playing. This game is also known to the Churipa, a Chiquito-Indian tribe, near Sta. Cruz de la Sierra, who called it »taurosh».[2] EDER speaks of games with india-rubber balls in Mojos.[3] The ball was kicked or caught and butted with the head. The balls that were used were either solid and heavy or light and hollow.

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171 I saw the small tribe of Huari Indians[4] near the Upper Rio Guaporé playing with hollow india-rubber balls. There also the balls had to be caught and butted with the head.

When ROOSEVELT on his celebrated journey through Matto Grosso came to the Paressi Indians, he was astonished to see them play »football with their heads», a mode

[1] FERNANDEZ. »Juntanse muchos en la plaza con buen orden, echan al ayre una pelota, y luego, no con las manos, sino con la cabeza, la rebaten con maravillosa destreza, arrojandose aun en tierra para cogerla.» DOBRIZHOFFER (2) Partie Historique, Tome 2. P. 394—395. NORDENSKIÖLD (8) P. 180.

[2] NORDENSKIÖLD (9) P. 28.

[3] P. 341.

[4] NORDENSKIÖLD (11) P. 387. A ball that I brought home from these Indians is about 6 cm. in diameter. The rubber is unusually thick, about 6—7 mm. It is blackish brown.

Mündemühlfld I-6 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chinguano SF10
Chane SF8



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of playing that he thought was as yet undescribed.[1]) They used a light, hollow rubber ball of their own make. It was round, and about 8 inches in diameter.

Before ROOSEVELT[2]) MAX SCHMIDT[3]) speaks about this game in Matto Grosso among the Paressi-Kabiši. There they played with india-rubber balls made of the milky juice from the mangave. The ball might not be touched with the hands during the game, but had to be caught and butted with the forehead, even if it was on the ground. To make this possible a mound of sand might be made under the ball. The balls are 9—11 cm. in diameter. MAX SCHMIDT gives us a splendid photograph of some Paressi-Kabiši lads amusing themselves with this strange ball-game.

KARL VON DEN STEINEN mentions india-rubber balls among the Auetö-Indians at Rio Xingú,[4]) but without

[1]) ROOSEVELT, P. 183—84. »The game is not only native to them, but I have never heard or read of its being played by any other tribe or people.«

[2]) Page 185. »The players are divided into two sides, and stationed much as in Association football, and the ball is placed on the ground to be put in play as in football. Then a player runs forward, throws himself flat on the ground, and butts the ball towards the opposite side. This first butt, when the ball is on the ground never lifts it much and it rolls and bounds towards the opponents. One or two of the latter run toward it, one throws himself flat on his face and butts the ball back. Usually this but lifts it, and it flies back in a curve well up in the air; and an opposite player, rushing toward it, catches it on his head with such a swing of his brawny neck, and such position and address that the ball bounds back through the air as a football soars after a drop-kick. If the ball flies off to one side or the other it is brought back, and again put in play. Often it will be sent to and fro a dozen times, from head to head, until finally it rises with such a sweep that it passes far over the heads of the opposite players and descends behind them. Then shrill rolling cries of good-humoured triumph arise from the victors; and the game instantly begins again with fresh zest.«

[3]) SCHMIDT, MAX (4) P. 182—83.

[4]) STEINEN, (5) P. 329.

8:Nordenskiöld E-8,v(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8



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giving the rules of the game. I saw the Cavina-Indians at Rio Beni use india-rubber balls. They were hollow and the rubber was thin and there was shot inside them so that they could be used as rattles. I only saw them thrown with the hands. Indian boys in the Mainas mission[1]) at Rio Marañon also had india-rubber balls of their own making. BARRERE mentions balls of the kind from Amazonas without saying how they were used.[2]) IM THURN[3]) speaks of these balls in British Guiana.

GUMILLA[4]) tells us that the Otomaco-Indians at the Orinoco river played with balls made of a kind of juice that they called »caucho» and which bounced to a man's height at the slightest touch. The ball might only be caught and hit with the right shoulder. If it touched any other part of the body the player lost one point. In this way the balls were butted from shoulder to shoulder up to 10 or 12 times without touching the ground. It struck GUMILLA as stranger still that when the ball was rolling on the ground they could put it in play again by throwing themselves on their faces and pressing their bodies to the ground.[5])

[1]) [MARONI] (Juniò 1889) P. 329.

[2]) BARRERE, P. 139.

[3]) P. 326.

[4]) GUMILLA. T. I, P. 190—191. »Lo singular es, assi la pelota, como el modo de jugarla: la pelota es grande, como una bola de jugar el Mayo, formado de una resina, que llaman CAUCHO, que à leve impulso rebota tan alto, como la estatura de un hombre: el saque, y rechaso ha de ser con solo el hombro derecho, y si toca la pelota en qualquiera otra parte del cuerpo pierde una raya: causa maravilla vèr ir, y venir rechazar y rebolver la pelota diez, doce y mas veces, sin dexarla tocar en el suelo. Es otra cosa de mayor admiracion, al venir una pelota arrastrando, vèr arrojarse aquel Indio contra ella con todo el cuerpo: al modo con que suelen arrojarse al agua para nadar, del mismo modo dàn con todo el cuerpo contra el suelo, y con el hombro levantan por essos ayres otra vez la pelota.

[5]) See GILIJ T. 2, P. 269—272. GILIJ describes the game in detail. He says that the Otomacos had a place set apart for ball-games.

8:Nordenskiöld E-S/4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8



OVIEDO[1]) gives a detailed description of the game. He tells how there were special play- grounds in the Haiti villages where they played at ball. During the game

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1) OVIEDO. T. 1, Lib. 6, Chap. 2, P. 165.

«E las pelotas son de unos rayçes de árboles é de hierbas é çumos é mucha de cosas, que toda junta esta mixtura paresçe algo çerapea negra. Juntas estas y otras materias, cuéçenlo todo é haçen una pasta; é rebuelcanla e haçen la pelota, tamaña como una de las de viento en España, é mayores é menores: la qual mixtura haçe una tez negra, é no se pega á las manos; é despues que está enxuta tórnase algo espongiosa, no por que tenga agugero ni vacuo alguno, como la esponja, pero alijeresçese, y es como foda y algo pesada.

Estas pelotas saltan mucho mas que las de viento sin comparaçion, porque de xoto xoltalla de la mano en tierra, suben mucho mas para arriba, é dan un salto é otro é otro y muchos, disminuyendo en el saltar por sí mismas, como lo haçen las pelotas de viento é muy mejor. Mas como son maçizas, son algo pesadas; é si les diesen con la mano abierta ó con el puño çerrado, en pocos golpes abririan la mano ó la desconçertarian. Y á esta causa le dan con el hombro y con el cobdo y con la cabeça, y con la cadera lo mas continuo ó con la rodilla; y con tanta presteza y sotura, que es mucho de ver su agilidad, porque aunque vaya la pelota quasi á par del suelo, se arrojan de tal manera desde tres ó quatro passos apartados, tendidos en el ayre, y le dan con la cadera para la rechaçar. Y de qualquier bote ó manera que la pelota vaya en el ayre (é no rastrando), es bien tocada; porque ellos no tienen por mala ninguna pelota (ó mal jugada), porque haya dado dos, ni tres, ni muchos saltos, con tanto que al herir, le den en el ayre. No haçen chaças, sino ponense tantos á un cabo como á otro, partido el terreno ó compás del juego, y los de acullá la suelta ó sirven una vez, echándola en el ayre, esperando que le toque primero qualquiera de los contrarios; y en dándole aquel, luego sulçede el que antes puede de los unos ó de los otros, y no çesan con toda la diligençia possible á ellos, para herir la pelota. Y la cintençion es que los deste cabo la hagan passar del otro puesto adelante de los contrarios, ó aquellos la passen de los limites ó puesto destos otros; y no cessan hasta que la pelota va rastrando, que ya por no aver acydo el jugador á tiempo, ó no haçe bote, ó está tan lexos que no la alcança, é ella se muere ó se para de por sí. Y este vençimiento se cuenta por una raya, é tornan á servir para otra los que fueron servidos en la passada, é á tantas rayas, quantas primero se açordaron en la postura, vá el precio que entre las partes se conçierta».

HERRERAS description is not so detailed. Dec. 1, Libro 3, Chap. 4.

Nordenskiöld E-5,c(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
F10 Chiriguano F10
Chaco F8



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the chiefs sat on beautifully carved seats or so called »duhos«. OVIEDO's description makes it quite clear that they used india-rubber balls. Trees yielding india-rubber, however, seem to be unknown in Haiti, so perhaps the Indians got them while trading with the tribes on the South American Continent.

OVIEDO says how well these balls bounced. If one is but dropped on the ground it bounces higher than a ball of feathers would, and it keeps on bouncing again and again. They played in the same way in Haiti as they did at the Orinoco, not throwing the balls with their hands but catching and striking them with their shoulders, elbows, heads, hips or knees. The balls were solid.

I have shown on map 9 the distribution of rubber balls in South-America. In most places it is, as we have seen, played in such wise that the balls are not allowed to be touched with the hands, but have to be caught and struck with some other part of the body. Judging by the distribution of the game I should not consider it unlikely that it has been spread in South America by the Arawaks. The Indians in Haiti were Arawaks, as also the Paressi-Kabiši and Chané. The Otomaco had Arawakan civilization. It is interesting to learn from the Chané tale that the balls were brought from a distance. It is possible that the same thing was done in Haiti.

As early a writer as GUMILLA states that a ball-game like the one he describes from the Otomaco-Indians, was played in Mexico. Thus he quotes P. ROXAS (Historia Cinaloá, lib. 8, cap. fol. 475.) who mentions similar games among the Acaxees-Indians in Sierra de Topia.[1]) There is

[1]) T. 1, P. 191. The publisher of EDEN's work also had his attention drawn to the similarity between the ball-games in Mexico and in Mojos. (P. 344).

»Similem frequentatum olim veteres Mexicani, et Chirigeni tunc Scotiedem currunt. Tamarenses. Insulæ S. Dominici incolæ ac ea hac aetate lude jam olim obtinuerunt, testante Oviedo, et pilam rerum ex-

Schwedenkiste E-4,4 (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8



a striking similarity between «tlaxtli», the Mexican ball game, and the one which is played in the West Indies and South America when you take into consideration the different standard of civilization of these peoples. You cannot expect to get the same elaborate rules of a game from a tribe of low culture as from one of a much higher standard. The balls used for tlaxtli were of india-rubber. In Mexico too they played in such wise that the ball was not touched with the hand but with the hip.[1]) The same game was also played by the Maya.[2])

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One sometimes sees Chané and Chiriguano women playing a game like nine-pins which is called «tarapia» by the former and «tocoriso» by the latter. They played it as follows at Tihtipa. Two rows of maize grains were laid out, two grains on each other like miniature nine-pins at a distance of 4 or 5 feet. Two persons took turns in playing, trying to knock down each others maize nine-pins with a stone ball. The one who first knocked down all the other players nine-pins won the game.

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At Rio Parayiti the players had three nine-pins each. There was a distance of one fathom between the ninepins of the two players. Every nine-pin consisted of an empty maize cob and the distance between them was the span of a hand. (the greater[3]). They used a ball of burnt clay, hollow, with small rattling marbles inside.

I saw a quoits-game «parama» played by the Chiriguano at Caipipendi. It is a game for two. A button or something of the kind is put on a stone as a target and the play-

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ctarum permistione confecerunt. Quis dixerit, undenam hoc tertia mutuatum, tot per regionis spatiorum, in re non maxime utique ominenti, conspiratio.»

[1]) Jouen (1). P. 106. «The players were special gauntlets but the most esteemed variety of the game was that in which they were not allowed the use of their hands at all, but struck the ball with their hips.»

[2]) Jouen (2) P. 301.

[3]) The maximum distance between the thumb and little finger.

Schmidt-Bibl 8-4, 1908-1909, 1913, 1920
SP10 Chiriguano SP10
Chaco SP9



C 524 ers throw round pieces of potsherd or flat round stones at it. The button has to be knocked down and the one who has got nearest to it wins a point. The game goes on till one of the players has five or more points according to agreement.

C 524 «Kiuki» is another game that I have seen Chané boys play at Rio Parapiti. It is played by two boys with miniature arrow-darts (Fig. 15) $\frac{1}{A}$. First one boy throws his dart into the ground and then the other, who tries to get as near it as possible. If he gets within the span of a hand (the greater or nearer still to his opponent's arrow he wins a point, and a mark is made on the ground. He is the winner, who first has six marks while the other player has none. In reckoning the points only those count which one player has above the other.

«Huirahuahua» is a game that is only played by small Chané boys at Rio Parapiti. It is played by two boys with a stick apiece. (Fig. 34) $\frac{2}{A}$. One of them throws his stick so that the point strikes the ground and rebounds as far as possible. Then the other boy throws. The one who has thrown farthest gets a point. He wins who first has eight points while the other has none, that is to say, he must have eight points more than the other boy.

C 526 «Kiyépe» is a game for boys which I have seen played by the Chiriguano in Yumbia at Rio Pilcomayo. The boys form two sides 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, 6, 7, 8. No. 4, let us say, begins by throwing a discus made of a flat cactus from which the spikes have been removed. The discus is hurled with great speed. The opposing team tries to hit it with their arrows. If this happens No. 4 has to walk out and have a shot at the discus which has been placed in a furrow with its edges facing the shooter. If he hits it he may return with his arrow. If he misses he forfeits his arrow and No. 3 succeeds him. No. 2 comes in if No. 3 misses, and No. 1 in the same way. Should he miss too, then 5, 6 etc. shoot till one of them hits the mark. The arrows

$\frac{1}{A}$ [i.e., Fig. 33. - Au.] $\frac{2}{A}$ [i.e., Fig. 32. - Au.]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8



that have not hit the mark are out of the game. If one hits the discus thrown by No. 4, it has to be thrown by No. 5 and then is the turn of 4, 3 etc. to try and hit it. The player who loses all his arrows is out of the game. The last one who has any arrows left has won, or rather his side. The arrows used for this game are decorated in order that each player may know his own.

Thus we find two games of chance[2]) and eight games of skill among the Chané and Chiriguano. Nothing like this number of games is known from any other Indians in South America. The following table shows us their distribution within the territory that I have explored.

*Table 11.*

| | »Chunquanti» | »Chucaretu» | Ball games with bats | Games with rubber balls | Games with maize-leaf balls | Quoits-games | Games with marbles | »Sipipe» | »Odoki» | »Huirahuahua» | Sum total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ashluslay | + | — | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| Atsahuaca | — | — | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Aymara | — | — | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Cavina | — | — | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Chacobo | — | — | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Chama | — | — | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Chané | + | + | | + | + | | + | — | + | + | 6 |
| Chimane | — | — | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Chiriguano | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | — | — | 8 |
| Choroti | + | — | | + | + | | | | | | 3 |
| Churapa | — | — | | | + | — | + | — | — | | 3 |
| Guarayú (mission) | — | — | | [1]) | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 |
| Guarayú Pauserna | — | — | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Huanyam | — | — | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Huari | — | — | | + | | | | | | | 1 |
| Itonama | — | — | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Mataco | + | — | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| Quichua | + [2]) | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 |
| Toba | + | — | + | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 |
| Tambopata-Guarayo | — | — | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Tapiete | + | — | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| Yamiaca | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 0 |
| Yuracáre | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 0 |

[1]) In the sixteenth century.
[2]) See NORDENSKIÖLD (16).

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On the Rio Pilcomayo three pins were used on each side. The distance between the pins of the opponent was three ells. Each pin consisted of a shelled ear of maize, and the distance between them was supposed to be a hand span (1). The balls

1. Longest distance between thumb and little finger.

used are made of fired clay and are hollow, with small, rattling pellets inside (Fig. 99). /Plate 17 appears here./

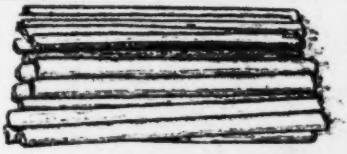

Fig. 95.
Little sticks for the tshúcareta game. 2/9.

/193/ The Life of the Indian Children

If one speaks of the life in the villages, one must not forget the children. The children play, but also help the adults. They are reared like the Choroti and Ashluslay children. They spend their lives in happy freedom, without thrashings and harsh words.

The Chiriguano and Chané children have a number of games and toys which one never sees the children of the whites in Bolivia use, and all of which seem to me to be genuinely Indian.

First of all, the Indian children play the games of the adults that I have already mentioned. Of the Choroti and Ashluslay games, they are familiar with the hockey-like game of ball, which the Chiriguano call "táca." I did not see it played among the Chané. As goals they use pits, and sometimes they hit the

[text continues on p. 47] ball with rackets.

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Another nice game is "sõuki," which the Chané boys on the Rio Parapiti played (Fig. 102). It is played by two /Fig. 98 appears here/ boys with maize-cob arrows. First one boy throws his arrow to the ground, then the other, who tries to come as close as possible

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Fig. 99.
Split ball for the tocoróre game. 1/2. Chané, Rio Parapiti.

to him. If he comes a hand span or closer to the arrow of the opponent, he wins a point, that is to say, he gets a stroke. The one who has six points first, if the other has none, wins. Each one plays with up to three arrows. The points are counted in such a way

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Fig. 100. Playing stick. 1/16. Tihuĩpa. Chiriguano.

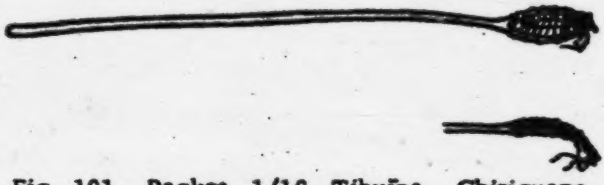

Fig. 101. Racket. 1/16. Tihuĩpa. Chiriguano.

that only what one has over the other one is of value.

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/197/ "Huirahuahua" is a game (Fig. 103) played only by the younger Chané boys on the Rio Parapiti. It is played by two boys with one stick apiece. One of them throws his stick so that the point strikes the ground and bounds back as far as possible. Then the second one throws. The one who has thrown farther gets a stroke on the ground. The one who first gets eight strokes while the other stands at zero wins.

6: Nordenskiöld--52 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF 8
S-Am. Indians 53
Chaco Indians 5K4

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The games and toys are of great interest from the anthropo-geographical point of view. We do not find the majority of them outside the Chaco and the adjacent regions of South America. On the other hand, we find them in North America. Consequently I have /199/ /Ill. 104 appears here/ /200/ come to the conclusion (1)

1. See also Erland Nordenskiöld: Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie, 1910. Nos. 3 and 4.

that the games and toys are vestiges from a time when the cultural exchange between North and South America was greater than now, or, more correctly, that traces of a cultural stream coming from the north extended down as far as Argentina. A peculiar similarity also exists between the types of tobacco pipes that one finds in southern South America and in /Fig. 105 appears here/ North America. The tripod pottery which I found in my excavations in eastern Bolivia, in Mojos, also points to influences from the north.

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## Everyday Clothing

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In the villages in which the influence of the whites has not driven out the old attire, the Chané and Chiriguano women wear a sack-shaped garment, "tiru" (Fig. 106). This, as the photographs show, may be worn in various ways. In former times the tiru does not seem to have had its present shape. Viedma (2) says

2. Viedma, op. cit., p. 181.

the /201/ Chiriguano women merely had a piece of fabric around their hips. Undoubtedly, under the influence of the "moral" Christians, the costume developed so that it became "more decent." /Fig. 106 appears here./

/35 cont./

526 Nordenskiöld did not see the Chiriguano of the Sierra play the game in which the ball is hit with the head, but he did hear it said that formerly they had played this game, called "bondi" by them, and that, like the Chané, they had used solid rubber balls (153). In my work published in this

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153. Nord. 2, p. 104.

journal (154), I have already mentioned that, according to the

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154. Revista de la Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay, Vol. III, No. 6, pp. 116 and 117.

Litterae Annuae of 1589 (155), the game with a ball hit with

155. Page 434. According to Nordenskiöld.

the head was also played by the Itatines-Guarayús and undoubtedly with a hollow rubber ball, because it is described there as being very light. In 1791 Eder (156) mentions this game

[113]

156. Eder, Franc. Xav.: Descriptio provinciae Moxitarum /Description of the province of the Mojo/, 1791, p. 41. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

with a ball hit with the head for the Moxos /Mojo/, who not only used white, hollow rubber balls, but also used dark, solid ones. Several authors, older ones, and more recent ones, for example, Fernandez and de Orbigny, mention this game among the Chiquito (157). Nordenskiöld on his travels saw it

157. Nord. 2, p. 104.

played in addition to the Chané, by the Huari (158).

158. Nord. 2, p. 104.

/35 cont./

According to these data concerning the region of spread of the game with a ball hit with the head, we must assume that the Chané, even before their subjugation by the Chiriguano, must have known this game, and that the Chiriguano of /36/ the Cordillera, like the Itatines-Guarayús, received it earlier from the Chané. The Chiriguano also play the game with a ball made of maize leaves struck with the hand, which we know from many other South American Indians (159). Ac-

159. Nord. 1, p. 168. Métraux 1, p. 44 and Fig. 11.

cording to Métraux, this game is not played except at the time when the maize is ripening, and it is related to the cultivation of maize.

With respect to other games of movement, the Chiriguano children play a game which corresponds to the game of polo and is very common among the Chaco tribes. The Chiriguano call it "taca." The ball is struck either, as among the Chorote and the Churupí, with curved sticks or with a primitive racket (160). No doubt the Chiriguano received this game

160. See Nord. 1, p. 193.

from neighboring Chaco tribes.

Of the games of skill, only one is played by adults and this only by women. It is a kind of bowling game that the Chiriguano in Tihuipa call "itarapóa" and the Chané of the Parapití "tecoróre" (161). The bowling pins in this game

161. According to Nord. 1, p. 192.

consist of two rows of maize kernels, two by two, one on top of the other, or on a cob. They throw with stone balls or with a hollow ball of baked clay with little pellets of the same material inside (162).

162. Nord. 1, p. 192 and Fig. 99.